

**International Organizations Coping with Global Security Matters: A
Comparative Case Study between NATO and UN**

By

Zepeda Palomo, David Alejandro

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

2011

**International Organizations Coping with Global Security Matters: A
Comparative Case Study between NATO and UN**

By

Zepeda Palomo, David Alejandro

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

2011

Professor Kim, Dong-Young

**International Organizations Coping with Global Security Matters: A
Comparative Case Study between NATO and UN**

By

Zepeda Palomo, David Alejandro

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

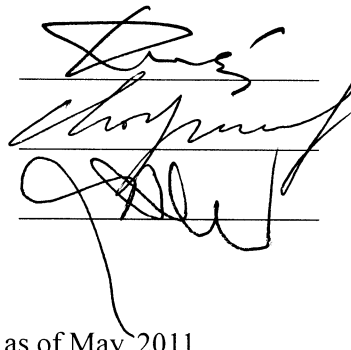
MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

Committee in charge:

Professor Kim, Dong-Young

Professor, Yoon Cheong

Professor Lee, Sung Joo



Approval as of May, 2011

Abstract

International Organizations Coping with Global Security Matters: A

Comparative Case Study between NATO and UN

Global security is a topic that has gained a significant amount of importance since the terrorist attacks on New York City in September 11, 2001. The world has not been the same ever since and the existing defense strategies have fallen short on the demands countries have on this particular subject. Condemning actions, passing resolutions, and creating debate tables, are no longer useful in the 21st century juncture; real action has to be made in order for the security crisis to be controlled and prevent spillovers towards unaffected regions. In today's context, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is the institution that best fits the profile of an entity prepared and equipped to cope with these matters. United Nations (UN) needs to refocus its missions towards the fields it is effective on and transfer its role of global peacekeeper to the Alliance.

History has shown a lack of cohesiveness in UN's operations regarding security matters; on the contrary, NATO's internal construction has permitted a flexible and dynamic approach that has delivered positive results on the geographical areas in need of assistance. International organizations, global or regional, are not founded with the purpose of competing with each other, so by this premise the UN should continue its functions, complementing NATO in any circumstance the latter needs support. Bearing in mind that the Alliance was build solely for the purpose of security and defense, it should be the leader that guides the world towards a peaceful end, and provide a more hopeful panorama to the current alarming reality.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) and KDI School for providing me with the necessary tools to accomplish this great endeavor. Also, this study is dedicated to my friends and family that gave me their unconditional support along the way and never stopped believing in me throughout the process. I thank everyone involved and hopefully we will meet again in the future.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vi
1. Introduction	1
1.1 International Organizations	2
1.2 Global International Organizations	3
1.2.1 United Nations	4
1.3 Regional International Organizations	4
1.3.1 North Atlantic Treaty Organization	5
1.4 Objectives of the Study	5
2. Literature Review	7
2.1 Background on the Formation of International Organizations	7
2.2 Global and Regional Organizations in a Worldwide Context	10
2.3 Global Defense and Security	13
2.4 Characteristics of International Security During and After the Cold War Period	15
3. Hypotheses Development	35
3.1 Security Challenges of the World and the Proper Tools to Counterbalance Them	35
3.2 Limits of UN as Peacekeeper of the World	37

3.3 NATO Taking Over Global Security Problems.....	40
4. Research Method	45
4.1 Previous UN and NATO Security Operations.....	45
4.1.1 Kosovo	46
4.1.2 Afghanistan	50
4.1.3. Iraq	53
5. Findings	59
6. Suggestions	65
7. Conclusion	69
Work Cited	72

List of Tables

Table 1: Security Challenges of the World and the Proper Tools to Counterbalance

Them19

Table 2: Limits of UN as Peacekeeper of the World23

Table 3: NATO Taking Over Global Security Problems30

List of Figures

Figure 1: NATO Casualties in Afghanistan	52
Figure 2: NATO 's Defense Budgets 2011	55

International Organizations Coping with Global Security Matters: A Comparative Case Study between NATO and UN

1. Introduction

Security is a subject most people wish to have guaranteed in their lives. Nations seek the same. The world's history has been constantly filled with warfare in various regions and, even though old threats to global security have been controlled, new ones have risen without any agent capable of avoiding its reinforcement. National security is no longer an issue to be dealt with alone and the interdependence between states does not only apply for positive issues such as commerce and finance, but also impacts the countries in a negative way when it comes to terrorism, fanaticism, and other belligerent actions.

International organizations such as United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have been established to coordinate collective actions from international communities that will permit a firm counterbalance against evil. The working scope of these global institutions encloses almost every topic concerning a human being's life and is being constantly revised to adapt to the new challenges nations have to face. Its protagonist role in world affairs is only increasing as decades go by but in order to make a substantial change, a more organized view has to be developed for these organizations to make real impacts. There are many international institutions that may be perceived as repetitive in their objectives; such repetition and overlap not only wastes valuable resources, but also affects the final outcome of the operation. A clearer layout of the *raison d'être* of each institution has to be constructed so that each of them focuses in distinct tasks, avoiding redundancy in assignments.

The present work has seven chapters, which are divided in sub chapters to explain each topic in an integral manner. The first chapter is the introduction of the study, where basic terms are explained in a general way to provide an overview of the main theme. The second one is comprised of the literature review to analyze the materials that already exist on the subject and the different views that may be found in other studies. The third part contains the research hypothesis and the fourth the research method utilized to develop a concrete result. The fifth chapter includes the findings of the analysis in order to test the hypothesis objectively, and the sixth part provides suggestions on how to resolve the problem at hand in the most effective way. Finally, the last chapter will include the conclusions of the work.

1.1 International Organizations

According to Jose Alvarez, an international organization is an "intergovernmental entity established by treaty, usually composed of permanent secretariats, plenary assemblies involving all member states, and executive organs with more limited participation" (Alvarez, 2006, p. 324). The proliferation of these associations can be dated back to the 20th century, specifically after World War II. During this period, the world experienced a metamorphosis in its geopolitical context and, as a consequence, in the problems that it had to face; alliance structures transformed, war methods evolved, and, most importantly, security issues began having global repercussions.

As globalization grew stronger and interconnectedness between countries prevailed as an international norm, new movements conceived in order to create global and regional forums

that could serve as mediums to meet the necessities of the moment. For the first time, formally institutionalized organizations were emerging, creating high hopes for the member countries, especially those who considered themselves too weak to make a substantial change. Trade, health, finance, and security are only four of many themes that converted into actual entities. The states were ready to give up some of its sovereignty in exchange of a sentiment of belonging and the assurance that a supranational association was looking after its best interests.

With history as a witness, it is safe to say that many of the expectations that the nations had, fell short due to the complexity of the problems that were being tackled and the overestimation of its members of the scope that these associations could reach. The reality check came at a big surprise for the global community, considering the great responsibilities that they were placing on the hands of these blocks and the resources spent to make them function. Reforms have been made in a periodic way; however, there are highly important organizations that characterize themselves for their reluctance and unwillingness to change and adapt to a 21st century juncture.

1.2 Global International Organizations

International organizations may differ from each other in many aspects; its reasons to exist are based in different foundations and the way they accomplish results will prove successful for some and inefficient for others. One way to categorize these forums is according to the geographical position of its members and the scope of topics the block wishes to cover. A global international organization is one where its members are scattered all over the world without following a specific regional pattern. The matters they wish to address

can range from a single issue like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to a complex array of themes like United Nations. There is no universal structure that will work for every association, so each of them will have to base their actions on their own methodology, modifying it according to the context.

1.2.1 United Nations

United Nations is a global international organization created in 1945 at the end of World War II. The construction of UN reflected the desires of the "victors" of the war and has not changed its core ever since. France, United Kingdom, United States, China, and Russia have maintained a predominant and permanent position in the Security Council for more than fifty years and have showed a consistent resistance to alter the *status quo*. Theoretically, the General Assembly, comprised by the totality of member of the UN (192 countries), is the main deliberate organ where the major decisions are made (UN, 2010). Nevertheless, in real life, the five permanent members of the Security Council are the ones that retain control of the organization and decide on the significant issues inside its boundaries.

1.3 Regional International Organizations

Regional organizations are entities that are formed and developed following a geographical pattern or a geopolitical advance, like an economic or security block. Generally speaking, the association pursues benefits only for the member nations and limits its influence to the region in question, such as the Organization of American States (OAS) or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). However, some forums like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have begun to expand their capacities outside their geographical delimitations, complementing and sometimes even substituting the efforts of the global

unions.

1.3.1 North Atlantic Treaty Organization

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a military alliance created in 1949 by strategic members located in North America and Europe (NATO, 2010). NATO provides a "unique link between these two continents for consultation and cooperation in the field of defense and security, and the conduct of multinational crisis management operations" (NATO, 2010). Its configuration allows the Treaty to move dynamically and take action in a rapid matter after a call of assistance has been made from member or non-member nations.

In essence, NATO's internal structure is similar than the one UN has; however, due to the substantially lower quantity of nations that form part of the organization, the inner bureaucracy moves continuously and the decisions are executed in a practical manner. The NATO Parliamentary Assembly and NATO Council are the most influential organs within the Treaty and ultimately, the 28 member states are the ones that reach decisions through a unanimity procedure (Gallis, 2003). This policy encourages the active participation by all countries and prevents stronger ones from manipulating the course of action guided by their desires.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

Considering the historical facts available and the extensive investigation on the topic, this research is meant to pin out the limitations that UN has on dealing with security matters in a worldwide context, and how NATO would be more effective if it takes charge.

Particularly, this study embarks on:

- Understanding the security context of the world and the risk and challenges that the countries face in the 21st century.
- Identifying the limits UN has to face the defense and security threats of the globe.
- Comprehending why, in security topics, it is better for a well equipped regional organization to take over the tasks that a global one was trying to fulfill.

Alongside these topics, the following investigation will tackle the following questions:

- Should NATO be the only international organization focused on global security?
- Are there any internal obstacles that could hinder NATO's performance as a leader for international defense and security issues?
- Is NATO the most effective forum to deal with global security matters, taking into account it was built as a regional institution?
- Is NATO capable of dealing with all global defense emergencies, or should it decide in a case by case basis?
- In a comparative case, what have been the pros and cons between both, UN and NATO, when approaching an international security crisis?
- Should UN eliminate all of its security programs it now operates?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Background on the Formation of International Organizations

International organizations are a phenomenon that began to be seen in an explicit manner in the midst of the 20th century, when, after World War II, countries started to experience a substantial transformation in the role they played in the global context. Before this worldwide military crisis, the League of Nations was created in 1919 after World War I had ended, to assure that nations would not engage in any armed confrontation, resolving disputes through negotiation and arbitration, and trying to reach a complete disarmament as soon as possible (The Covenant of the League of Nations, 2008). The goals were not met and the League failed to stop a second world war from happening; in 1946 it dissolved and was substituted by the United Nations in all its obligations.

After the unpleasant reality the League had to face, other international organizations began incubating to reach the extensive spectrum of global associations known today. After the total victory of the Allies over Germany and Japan in 1945, the world was not only concerned about security and defense matters; other factors came into consideration for building new global forums. As stated before, blind hopes were placed on these unions to solve wide-reaching problems and fix whatever needed repair. However, as Barnett and Finnemore (2004, p. 54) state, "in order to account for what international organizations do, it is first necessary to understand what they are: sprawling bureaucracies with their own distinct interests, rules, culture, and logics of action". Back then, the inexperience regarding these blocks was obvious, but this naïve thinking still persists today and many of the failures inside the organizations' structures is due to the megalomaniac importance nation's place on them.

This same year, a group of commercial and financial norms were established under the Bretton Woods system and the institutions that emanated from it: International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which is now part of the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Thompson & Snidal, 2006). With its flaws and criticisms, these organizations still persist today, but countries do not depend on them as much as they did, in view of the emergence of regional blocks that have acted in a better-organized way to cope with the economical problems surfacing in the world and private enterprises that offer better conditions. In the same line of thought, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was formed two years later, in 1947 (WTO, 2010). It was replaced in 1995 by the more centralized and inclusive World Trade Organization (WTO) (Thompson & Snidal, 2006). This association continues to regulate the world commerce and economical transactions in the 21st century, but, following the pattern, its functions have been undermined by regional groups that enforce their own rules and follow particular interests.

Another organization that is worth mentioning and which also was created in the decade of the 1940s is NATO. Unlike the previous ones, its membership is limited to a geopolitical frame of nations and is strictly security-related. The advantages of its construction lay on the relatively small number of countries that form part of it and the focus on a single international concern: security. As international organizations expand their roles and activities in an ever-increasing number of areas of global life, "there is a corresponding expansion of responsibility for their interactions with an equally increasing number of other non-state entities like individuals, nongovernmental organizations, [and] minorities" (Suzuki & Nanwani, 2005). NATO, over its years of existence, has acquired new roles and responsibilities, but all pivoting around its core functions of defense and security. By contrast,

the UN has tried to enclose an extensive list of matters that affect nations; "UN has a presence in every trouble spot and in every emerging issue that anyone can spot", Weiss (2009) states. This is one of the most evident distinctions between both institutions and to some extent, the reason why almost every nation in the world is part of UN.

One last association worth mentioning is the European Union (EU) established by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993 (Europa, 2010). Following the steps of the UN, this organization has progressively extended its scope in the countries it encircles and in the topics it attains. Military and defense, humanitarian aid, economy and development are just a few of the subjects the Union looks after (Garven, 2005). As every entity the EU has had its setbacks, and even though its members share a relative homogeneity, they have not been alienated from obstacles, as in the case of the Lisbon Treaty deadlock in 2007.

Regardless of the nature of international organizations, Russett and Oneal (2001) argue, these global apparatuses reduce conflict in the areas they are meant to work in; they provide a legal framework for the peaceful resolution of interstate dilemmas. This statement is not untrue, but prefers to ignore realities that make worldwide associations a burden to its members and an obstacle for regional blocks to enhance their performance and deliver results.

2.2 Global and regional organizations in a worldwide context

In the world of today global organizations have had difficult times establishing their credibility and standing strong in the eyes of the public. As they evolve and more crises arise, their methods have proven to be ineffective and, as a consequence, their reputation challenged. No longer is it common to hear the population in member countries pleading for these associations to intervene in their general matters; most people are aware of the limits of

their involvement and the attached conditions that come with their support.

The IMF is an intergovernmental institution that supervises the global financial system (IMF, 2010). It has 187 members "promoting international monetary cooperation and exchange rate stability, and provides resources to help members in balance of payment difficulties or to assist with poverty reductions" (IMF, 2010). However, in its case, a big gap exists between what its Charter states and the policies they utilize in real life. IMF procedures lead developing countries to a long run economic stagnation and create a paternalistic figure over them, causing dependency on the institution. Edwin Feulner (1998) of the Heritage Foundation has found the following results:

- Of the 89 less-developed countries that received IMF loans between 1965 and 1995, 48 are no better off economically today that they were before receiving IMF loans;
- Of these 48 countries, 32 are poorer than they were before receiving IMF loans; and
- Of these 32 countries, 14 have economies that are at least 15 percent smaller than when they received their first IMF loan.

These figures are alarming and it is hard to imagine how countries still want to inject more money into the Fund without any clear strategy or course of action. The World Bank is suffering from the same sickness as the IMF and, as a result, millions of dollars in resources are being wasted in unreal goals and broken projects. It employs over 10,000 workers in more than 100 offices around the world with an annual budget of US\$ 1.5 billion (Eiras, 2003). Despite such massive expenditures, "it has done little to improve economic freedom in beneficiary nations; Bangladesh is the World Bank's third largest recipient of funds, despite

being the world's most corrupt country according to Transparency International" (cited in Eiras, 2003). It is hard to believe that deep studies are performed before lending the money and not only these institutions perform irresponsibly, but they create perverse incentives in the states they are trying to aid.

Finally, the UN has also been a victim on its own enlargement and of what many countries perceived as success. One by one the organization's tasks grew but its structure remained the same as it was conceived in 1945. Its intentions may be noble, "but [UN] has a long history of failing to fulfill the purposes for which it was created – bolstering international peace and security, promoting fundamental human rights and freedoms, and increasing prosperity and human standards" (Bolton, 2009). This view is not a general argument and should not be taken as such; UN has made substantial changes in the missions it has been involved with and continues with its constant participation in the most torn regions of the globe.

In contrast, regional organizations have had a growing acceptance in the international scene due to their positive results and congruent strategies towards the goals and objectives that define their *raison d'être*. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is one of these entities. It is a geopolitical regional organization, formed in 1967, consisting of 10 members of South East Asia, working on matters of economic growth, regional peace, scientific enhancement, among other topics (ASEAN, 2010). It has been labeled as one of the most successful regional organizations of the developing world and this, in part, because of the political will that member nations have, and their understanding of the

outside competitive markets that may destabilize their capital flow. ASEAN's development is impressive; its overall trade grew from US\$10 billion in 1967 to over US\$ 1,500 billion in 2008 (ACIF, 2009). According to professor Jayakumar (1997), former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Singapore, this performance is due, to some degree, to a "stable regional security environment: [ASEAN] was creative in engaging and networking with the major powers who have traditionally played an important role in Southeast Asia and it has made efforts in creating a sense of community and a habit of cooperation". Its success is undeniable and it also benefits outside nations as it represents an appealing trading partner and potential market.

NATO is another regional organization that has shown an evident development since its creation, delivering remarkable operations and immediate response to the states in need. Ethnicity issues, territorial disputes, and terrorist threats are still latent problems in Europe and its peripheral neighbors; NATO has to maintain its operations active and updated so that they can restrain and prevent any spillover effect from whatever crisis happening in the world. Its frame of action does not have to be inside the geographic boundaries of its members, considering that there are unattended areas in the world which need outside support in order to stabilize and flourish.

As it is evident, regional organizations have managed, with some setbacks, to fulfill its founders' intentions and follow its Charter the way it was intended since its formations. In these cases, less is more when it comes to members and the range of topics they cover. Nowadays, disaster and violence know no borders, so it is crucial for these entities to adapt to the new worldwide juncture and act accordingly before harm prevails. As this study will focus solely on security matters, next section will analyze

global and regional organizations in a security perspective, how they have succeeded, and the drawback they have faced.

2.3 Global Defense and Security

International security has always been a topic of concern and debate in international organizations. There has never been a universal consensus of how to tackle the issues affecting it, or which countries should be the ones making the decisions that the rest need to follow. However, since the September 11 attacks in New York City, the nations began to have a more active role on defense and security matters and international forums recognized in a unanimous way, the vulnerability of its members. Every state was a potential target and a collective action needed to be taken to prevent any other violent catastrophe.

For international entities the quandary of global security has gotten much more complicated than it was during the latter part of the 20th century. New actors have emerged and the traditional way of one country clashing against the other, does not hold in the worldwide scene anymore. In the same way, conventional weapons are no longer the name of the game, but guided missiles, nuclear, and bacteriological warfare are the new threat. For now, NATO is already practicing an approach of minimum nuclear deterrence (Thränert, 2010). There is no sense on attaching to strategies that were fruitful 50 years ago; however, choices need to be taken delicately considering that a decision to modernize the Treaty's atomic technology might be perceived in Moscow as an act of threat and intimidation, which would shadow NATO-Russia mutual achievements (Thränert, 2010). All organizations, not only NATO, need to proceed with caution when planning their next move, taking into account the large number of stakeholders on the line, and the wide spectrum of interests in play.

The world is engaged in a complicated and dangerous conflict, and the need for allies and alliances is no longer an option. International organizations, global and regional, will prevail as long as they can restrain the newborn dangers and countries confide on them for the task. A trade-off has to be made, "[t]he international community has a duty to prevent security disasters as well as humanitarian ones – even at the price of violating sovereignty" (Feinstein & Slaughter, 2004). These words may sound shocking or even unpleasant, but the reality of today does not permit anymore mistakes or delays, and calls for immediate collective action from the world's states. Governments can oppose and civil society may rise, but the consequences will be far greater if they wait for another, even deadlier attack to occur.

2.4 Characteristics of International Security During and After the Cold War Period

Throughout history the world has experienced a series of events that have changed the course of world affairs and shifted the nations' framework of action. Even though there have been a great number of such circumstances, the Cold War and the terrorist attacks on New York City on September 11, 2001, are the most recent ones, which repercussions will be felt long after its starting points. One of the main characteristics of both incidents was that international security was put at risk, not only among countries that were directly involved in the occurrences, but also for the rest that one way or another were linked to each other through common grounds.

The Cold War was a political and diplomatic conflict between the United States and the former Soviet Union that went on from 1947 until 1991 (Global Security, 2011). Its name

derived from the fact that during almost the 45 years the conflict lasted, there was not a direct belligerent confrontation between the two superpowers, but instead altercations were based on deterrence mechanisms, intimidation, threats and a notorious arms race. The Cold War changed the paradigms of the basic knowledge of warfare and redirected the way that governments were used to handle international confrontations. In addition to the tension that the world was living at the time, the actors also had to deal with the fact that nuclear weapons were more than a slight possibility to put an end to the war.

In the midst of the War, the world was completely polarized between communism and democracy. The main carriers of these political principles strengthened their positions in order to increase the number of followers under their influence. Satellite nations started surfacing and as years went by, a more explicit strategy began to be seen from both sides of the world; despite talks between world leaders and the continuous force of the United States, USSR was committed to gain more allies and reach its goal. In the 1950s, Third World countries started with a more active role and many of them were accused by the West of aiding the Soviets on their cause. Guatemala, Indonesia, and Indochina, are only three of many nations that got caught up in the middle and blamed for their communist ways (McMahon, 2010). As many states were going through a decolonization process, the two poles struggled to increase their influence on virgin lands and newly formed countries (Global Security, 2011). For some critics the Cold War was not as "cold" as some literature suggests; even though there was not a direct violent confrontation between Americans and Soviets, there was combat on the sides, such as the Korean War and the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Germans (Gavin, 2009). Ideology had a cost, but in the latter part of the 20th century that was not as important as becoming the super power of the globe and

dominating every sphere of the world's content.

International organizations were not strangers towards the Cold War scenario. The UN, specifically its Security Council, served as a forum for constant aggressions between the two major blocs and its allies. The roles got inverted and the most powerful countries that, according to their statutes, carried the main responsibility for peace became the actors that most jeopardized the international *status quo* and began an armament competition that threatened to annihilate a great percentage of civilization. USSR began projects involving biological weapons and due to the extreme pressure they had from the United States, some of their experiments did not go as planned causing a number of deaths, like in the Anthrax leak catastrophe in the Soviet city of Sverdlovsk in 1979 (Freedman, 2010). However, generally speaking, the UN was very active in negotiation talks and many of its members, like Great Britain, made an immense amount of efforts for the crisis not to become in a Third World War (Freedman, 2010), showing specialized diplomatic skills and a great deal of professionalism in their interventions.

For its part, NATO's main objective was to prevent an atomic catastrophe between East and West, promoting peaceful negotiations and supporting treaties banning nuclear testing (Freedman, 2009). Nevertheless, in this specific crisis, the presence of international organizations was undermined by the top priorities of the democratic and communist blocs and their main objective of becoming the superior strength.

After the Cold War came to an end and there was a relative stability in the world

again, the United States became the world leader in every possible aspect. Its superiority was unquestioned and the democratic ideology was proven to be the most effective and convincing among the greater majority of nations in the world. Nevertheless, the apparent peace came to a halt when terrorist groups became more ambitious and masterminded more deadly and public operations. These organizations were active all along the decade of the 1990s; however, in 2001 one of their most important master pieces was completed with the attack to the World Trade Center in New York City.

9/11, as this catastrophic day is remembered, completely changed the world's perception towards fanatics and the people's sense of security was immediately turned into fear. The negative consequences not only became visible inside the United States, but also in the rest of the allied states that shared the same ideology. The world was never going to be the same, as well as the countries' internal policies towards defense and security. Conetta arguments that between 1985 and 2001, "world military expenditure declined by one – third; after the attacks, the United States alone moved from spending only 80 percent as much as the adversary group in 1985 to spending 250 percent as much in 2001" (2003, p. 25). These figures show the extreme change the country had to go through in order to adapt to the new hostile environment and protect its people from an even more disastrous attack.

Dr. Hecker states that the events of 9/11 should be seen as the third and last wakeup call – the first being the drop of the atomic bombs in Japan and the second the fall of the

Soviet bloc – for nations and citizens to create a proper surrounding for all religions, races, and nationalities to coexist in the same territory (Post 9/11 Scenarios: The Future of Global Security). Intolerance is in the core beliefs of extremists, so the change will not come easy, but knowing the capabilities of the insurgents, the effort will be rewarded. September 11, 2001 marked a change of an era for the world and political biasness was no longer at the forefront of the battle, but instead a complicated mix of religion, fanaticism, and pure hatred.

International security is now vulnerable against non-state actors, which not only refuse to follow international law, but also utilize deceiving mechanisms almost impossible to track. Al- Qaeda, one of the most prominent radical organizations of the world and the authors of the 9/11 attacks, has transformed from a terrorist network to a social movement, attracting newcomers to join their forces in return of some kind of remuneration (Williams, 2008). This, added to the fact that some countries such as Pakistan and Afghanistan provide them a safe haven to build their operations, makes non-state actors extremely difficult agents to control.

Table 1: Security Challenges of the World and the Proper Tools to Counterbalance Them

Author	Year of Publication	Work title	Research Issue
Yost. D.	1998	The New NATO and Collective Security	* "While the Alliance has multiple tasks, its core function of collective defense continues to be dominant for the existing Allies and for prospective new ones".

			<p>* "NATO remains the most important effective institution for combining the political-military assets of the major Western powers, and its value must be preserved, for collective defense above all, but also to enable it to conduct selected operations in support of collective security and international defense".</p>
Lugar. R.	2002	Redefining NATO's Mission: Preventing WMD Terrorism	<p>* When nations resist accountability or when governments permit terrorists to use their territory to seek WMD, "the Alliance has the ability to apply its collective military, diplomatic, and economic power to ensure cooperation and pressure for the abidance of international laws".</p>
Ballesteros. M.	2005	NATO's Role in the Fight Against International Terrorism	<p>* "At the Prague Summit in 2002, the Treaty decided to establish a Military Concept enclosing the organization's policies of intervention regarding international terrorism and the various actions foreseen. This directive lists the different roles the Treaty may play, which are basically two: to lead an operation or to support a nation or coalition of nations in the fight against international terror".</p> <p>* "NATO has demonstrated its firm decision to contribute to the fight against global terrorism and it is the most deeply involved of all</p>

			<p>international organizations in terms of troop numbers".</p> <p>* "The fight against terrorism must be conducted within the sphere of international cooperation. NATO, due to its infrastructure, experience, and the characteristics of its members, seems to be the best prepared international organization to do this".</p>
Shmidt. J.	2006	Last Alliance Standing? NATO after 9/11	* NATO Response Force is a special NATO branch trained and equipped to U.S standards, capable of deploying rapidly so that international needs are met in the least amount of time.
Harsch. M. & Varwick. J.	2009	NATO and the UN	* "As a Chapter VIII organization, NATO would have been constrained to take military action only after Security Council authorization. This would have given permanent Security Council members, Russia and China, the power to veto an Alliance decision. The drafters of the treaty chose to rely on Article 51, which obliges the Alliance simply to report to the Security Council after collective-defense measures have been taken".
Berdal.M. & Ucko. D.	2009	NATO at 60	* "In October 2006 the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, under NATO command, assumed operational control of the whole country".

			<p>* One sign of significant progress of the Alliance in the last decade was in 2006, when it announced that the "NRF had reached full operational capability".</p> <p>* "NRF provides the Treaty with a focal point of modernization, a standing sizeable force, and a capability to react forcefully and in short notice to emerging crisis worldwide".</p>
Kamp.K.	2009	Towards a New Strategy for NATO	<p>* Some security threats carry an entangling dilemma. In a hypothetical case, "to await proof of aggressive intentions would mean waiting for the launch of the missiles, with hardly any chance of avoiding the deadly consequences. Given these dangers, NATO is discussing pre-emption as a means of providing security to members".</p>
Thränert. O.	2009	NATO, Missile defense and Extended Deterrence	<p>* "The Alliance is already practicing a strategy of minimum nuclear deterrence".</p> <p>* "NATO already is developing its Active Layered Theatre Ballistic Missile Defense System to protect troops against short-and-medium-range missiles".</p>

Table 2: Limits of UN as Peacekeeper of the World

Author	Year of Publication	Work title	Research Issue
Lynch. C.	2005	U.N. Faces More Accusations of Sexual Misconduct	<p>* Burundi, Haiti, and Liberia, are only three of many examples where UN's peacekeeping operations have been tainted with allegations of sexual harassment and other unethical behavior.</p> <p>* "UN officials and outside observers have stated that cases of abuse are recorded in almost all UN missions", including does in Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, and Kosovo.</p> <p>* Although UN Blue Helmets have been accused of their involvement in prostitution, rape and pedophiliac acts, it is yet to been seen serious condemning actions coming from the institution.</p>
Berdal. M.	2005	The UN's Unnecessary Crisis	<p>* The "oil-for-food" tale, evidence of unpleasant misbehavior by peacekeepers in the democratic Republic of Congo, and the disrupted departure of senior UN officials in 2005, have all added to the picture of an institution under serious problems and a Secretariat in confusion.</p> <p>* The permanent pressure from members to discuss a possible reform in Security Council, has taken hostage almost every high level meetings, making it virtually impossible to</p>

			<p>attend other urgent matters taking place in the world.</p> <p>* Even if the demands from other nations are met and the Security Council is expanded, it does not guarantee that peace and security (for what UN was created) are going to be served in a better way. Bureaucracy and crossed interest will be increased, obstructing in a greater manner the decision making process.</p> <p>* Instead of going around in circles on the same issues and procedures, member countries should work on the transparency and accountability inside the organization, specially the Security Council, considering that this is one of the main critics to the UN.</p> <p>* The UN has shown a great capability creating new commissions to solve the globe's problems; however, its performance has been poor when the time comes to renovate or eliminate old institutions. These actions create an out of control bureaucracy, which places a burden on the agents who control them and absorb resources that the organization is already lacking.</p>
Weiss. T.	2003	The Illusion of UN Security Council	<p>* Weiss, among many other authors, recognize that the five permanent members of the Security Council will use all their capabilities to avoid a substantial reform inside its structures.</p>

		Reform	<p>* Even if changes occur (transition from 15 members to 25), a larger group in the Security Council would hinder the possibilities of engaging in serious negotiations and still would not be enough to represent the UN membership as a whole.</p>
Patel. T.	2010	Total faces Iraq Oil-for-Food Bribery Investigation	<p>* Patel explains in detail the Oil-for-Food program fiasco in Iraq in which the UN had direct involvement in a bribery case and misconduct from the institution's staff.</p> <p>* Documents have surfaced where Kofi Annan and other high level UN officials are being paid with oil money to "buy" favors inside the organization.</p>
Chesterman . S.	2006	Does the UN Have Intelligence?	<p>* Generally speaking, UN depends on the intelligence its members provide and are willing to share. This reality creates an impediment for the institution to function in a practical way, considering that the most powerful nations, with the best intelligence agencies, refuse to give out confidential data, for 192 countries to know about.</p> <p>* After September 11 and the rest of terrorist attacks happening in the world, the question is no longer whether intelligence should be shared or not, but to what extent and the mechanisms that can be used to lower internal security threats. The UN serves as a forum for almost all</p>

			the countries in the world to interact, so exposing too much information may jeopardize national defense operations.
Novosselof f. A.	2008	Role of Emerging Countries in the United Nations	<p>* Novosseloff explains the precarious reality taking place inside the Security Council, where personal agendas and back room negotiations are guiding the defense operations of the UN.</p> <p>* There are historical topics in the world that will never be addressed by the organization because the five permanent members of the Security Council already have their perspectives locked without any room for commitment. Also, this <i>modus operandi</i> has permitted the usage of the veto power as a leverage mechanism to get resolutions passed or initiatives dropped.</p>
Tansey. O. & Zaum. D.	2009	Muddling Through in Kosovo	<p>* "The UN failed to settle the status question in Kosovo through diplomacy and has thrown the institution into crisis, leaving the Security Council deadlocked and without any clear direction".</p> <p>* The uncertainty in the region was heightened by the lack of coordination inside UN offices to close its mission in Kosovo and completely transfer power to local agencies.</p>
Simma. B.	1999	NATP, the UN and the Use of Force: Legal Aspects	* After Kosovo, UN constantly runs the risk of becoming irrelevant and, due to the Security Council's policies, many nations have preferred to work with other international instruments that

			can better cope with the problems in question.
Roberts. A.	2009	Doctrine and Reality in Afghanistan	<p>* Roberts argues that "it was always a mistake to view the UN as aiming to provide a complete system of collective security, even in the best of circumstances".</p> <p>* UN's role in Afghanistan has been limited in contrast with the exposure of the United States and NATO. The author states that "neither the terms of the UN Charter nor the record of the Security Council, justify the excessively high expectations many have had in respect of the institution's roles".</p>
Gray. C.	2008	A Crisis for Legitimacy for the UN Collective Security Council?	<p>* The author states that "the role of the UN and the role of its collective security system has been questioned in recent years" due to two factors:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) It has not been effective in the response of humanitarian disasters and potential genocides like in the case of Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina and; 2) Much of the security tasks UN was build to do have been undermined because countries prefer to act unilaterally in their defense missions than relying on UN's capabilities.
Dobbins. J.	2005	The UN's Role in	* UN has still a long way to go in order to gain complete experience in nation-building

		Nation-building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq	<p>operations. The widely publicized disappointment in Somalia and Yugoslavia hurt its reputation as a "mediator" and the demand for its services fell in a significant way.</p> <p>* Despite the UN's achievements on some low profile cases, it continues to show weaknesses in the field of nation-building; Most of the organization's missions lack resources and "UN-led military forces are often sized and deployed on the bases of unrealistic best-case assumptions".</p>
Harsch. M. & Varwick. J.	2009	NATO and the UN	<p>* "NATO's creation in 1949 as an alliance for collective defense demonstrated that Europe had serious doubts about the UN's ability to fulfill its tasks of peacekeeper of the world".</p>

Table 3: NATO Taking Over Global Security Problems

Author	Year of Publication	Work title	Research Issue
Berdal.M. & Ucko. D.	2009	NATO at 60	<p>* Since NATO's 50th anniversary in 1999, members decided that a significant transformation was necessary in order to remain relevant in foreign affairs. The United States and other key nations led an attempt to modernize the Alliance's Cold War pillars and</p>

			"endow it with the capabilities and assets thought to guarantee its continued centrality into the 21st century".
The Streit Council	2010	NATO's Military Concept, Joint Military Exercises and Civil Emergency Planning Activities	<p>* In order to combat terrorism and adapt to the context and new security threats arising, NATO has been developing anti-terrorist strategies and engaging in sophisticated drill exercises.</p> <p>* The Alliance's officials have been able to look past NATO – Russia differences, joining forces to develop new technologies and defense tactics against environmental disasters caused by terrorist attacks.</p> <p>* Non-NATO members <i>inter alia</i> Ukraine, offered their territory so that this organization could perform test drills focused on emergency situations of radiological or biological attacks.</p>
Lugar. R.	2002	Redefining NATO's Mission: Preventing WMD Terrorism	<p>* Lugar believes that "NATO should play the lead role in addressing the global security problems of the 21st century".</p> <p>* NATO has shown a great deal of flexibility on dealing with international crisis, from the Cold War to Kosovo. It is quick to respond to shifting realities and has proved to be assertive in the procedures taken in different environments.</p>
Solana. J.	1999	NATO's success in	* NATO's involvement in Kosovo was not based on impulse and it started only after

		Kosovo	<p>Belgrade refused to channel negotiations through diplomacy. The Alliance knew the risk it would have to face in that territory, "but doing nothing would have been worse; consenting Slobodan Milosevic's mass killings would have stained the reputation of Western institutions", specifically the Treaty's.</p> <p>* Solana highlighted that "for the first time, an alliance of sovereign nations fought not to conquer or gain territory but to protect the principles and values on which the association was created".</p>
Ruiz. D.	2007	NATO's Political and Strategic Vision for Afghanistan	<p>* Ruiz analysis the deep commitment NATO has in its operations in Afghanistan. He explains that the Alliance has gone beyond its original tasks, trying to build a negotiation floor for the parties to dialogue and reach consensus inside the territory and between neighbor countries.</p> <p>* NATO has approximately 40,000 men and women working for stability and training the national security so that they can become autonomous as soon as possible.</p>
Roberts. A.	2009	Doctrine and Reality in Afghanistan	<p>* NATO has become directly involved in the stabilization of Afghanistan without much public debate or international opposition.</p>

			<p>* To keep NATO's reputation, knowing that the result of any quest in Afghanistan is bound to be uncertain, it has to work in a precise way, standing by its principles and guided by objective premises: "the UN may be accustomed to failure, but NATO is not".</p> <p>* In 2001, the UN's Security Council created the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which was first led by the United States but two years after, upon the Afghan President's request, NATO was given the leadership</p>
O'Hanlon. M.	2009	Towards Reconciliation in Afghanistan	<p>* The author argues that NATO has had a clear vision of what Afghanistan really needs to enforce rule of law inside its territory. Its approach has not been focused solely on democracy building like the UN usually does; instead, NATO personnel has been working closely with civilians and army men so that they can, in the future, transform their nation into a free and secured region.</p> <p>* A coalition between Afghan/NATO forces has given a new breath to the operations; now troops can secure a specific area and maintain security forces in the perimeter, avoiding the return of Taliban units and other terrorist cells.</p>

Ballesteros. M.	2005	NATO's Role in the Fight Against International Terrorism	<p>* Ballesteros states that NATO has been able to realize "that global terrorism, rather than a future risk, is a current threat". He explains that "its strategy is to be more dynamic in an attempt to emphasize prevention rather than consequence management".</p> <p>* Due to the changes in global security threats, NATO has been adapting its military capabilities, its command structures, and its practices in order to cope with these dangers.</p>
Shmidt. J.	2006	Las Alliance Standing? NATO After 9/11	<p>* In the last decade, many nations, NATO members and non-members, have been pressuring the Alliance to take a more active role in the Middle East and Africa by seeking to establish military centers.</p> <p>* The out of Europe missions draw an ambitious plan for NATO and places a great deal of responsibilities on its members, but also reflects the need of a globally focused alliance capable of reaching new scopes and tackling complicating matters.</p>

3. Hypotheses Development

3.1 Security Challenges of the World and the Proper Tools to Counterbalance Them

Technology is an unstoppable force that not only accounts for better tools and gadgets to improve a person's life quality, but also for advanced and far reaching weapons that strengthen national armies, making them vulnerable at the same time from external attacks. Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and biological warfare are two of many concerns that individual states and international organizations have to cope with in a daily basis, hoping they will not reach the wrong people under perverse intentions. NATO has shown a growing interest on initiating programs aimed at preventing WMD terrorism and extended deterrence in the European region and its side-lines. As the programs are constantly advancing, the Treaty is becoming more capable in leading the way in these approaches and the UN's logistic units could complement it with pertinent intelligence and information regarding the matters.

NATO's capacities have experienced a great leap since it was founded more than 60 years ago. September 11 showed that the most important security threats are coming from outside of Europe, so international entities, especially NATO, need to take real action and not only condemn the attacks and search for "political" solutions around them, as UN is accustomed too. Lugar (2002), speaking of these dangers stated:

NATO should play the leading role in addressing the central security challenge of our time. When nations resist accountability or when governments make their territory available to terrorists who are seeking WMD, NATO nations should be prepared to apply their collective military, diplomatic, and economic power to ensure cooperation.

In the global context of today *inter alia* Lebanon, needs to be held accountable for providing a haven for radicals to hide and architect their belligerent operations. Of course, NATO's forces need to respect the sovereignty of the states in question, but their decisions need to be firm and aggressive as to dissuade the enemy of engaging on any further attack. This statement is supported by the creation of the NATO Response Force (NRF), which is an Alliance arm that has air, land, and water technological capabilities to deploy rapidly wherever needed (Schmidt, 2006). NRF gives at least an incentive for other countries to cooperate and its past successful operations in Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (Berdal. & Ucko, 2009), have established a precedent, increasing the optimism of being an effective military tool.

Another effort that NATO is trying to perfect is the extended deterrence that it would be needed in case of a possible attack with WMD in the European continent (**Thränert, 2010**). For now, there is no consensus on which country would threat to retaliate against an adversary with nuclear weapons, since the responsibility is high and it gives a great power to the nations in charge. Also, as stated above, the decisions need to be well thought, considering that any uninformed choices may result on a worsening of relations between NATO and Russia. The Treaty is already "developing its Active Layered Theatre Ballistic Missile Defense system to protect troops against short and medium range missiles", **Thränert explains (2010)**. What is important to highlight here is the proactive attitude of its members to craft new defensive tools, refusing to act until a severe attack occurs over the

missions deployed in different parts of the world. Organizations need to act with decisiveness and even if the project fails on the future, it is worth the endeavor, as millions of lives are at stake.

H1: NATO has been developing better tactical tools than UN to counterbalance global security threats.

3.2 Limits of UN as Peacekeeper of the World

UN is not a lost cause when it comes to global organizations and its consequential aid towards the most needed nations. This institution has a large potential to make changes in fields where national governments do not have reach and other entities the capabilities; as President Barack Obama enunciated: "the UN is an indispensable - and imperfect - forum" (Weiss, 2009). Its main advantage is that encloses almost every country in the world, allowing a discussion floor for all delegates to raise their concerns and debate about possible solutions. However, in some matters, such as security and defense, it has not performed as well as it was intended and as long as a complete overhaul in its structures does not take place, the unconstructive results will continue to weaken its status. For this, the representatives from the UN should rethink their next strategy and consider the possibility of giving up their role of "major peace makers" and reorient efforts and funds towards the activities they are much successful in.

As it has been stated along this research, the main impediment of the UN to respond in a proper and effective manner towards security emergencies is the nature of its Security

Council. Edward Luck expresses this concern stating that "when faced with man-made humanitarian calamities, the Council may well find itself caught between cross-pressures from publics and governments" (2006). The veto power has proved to cause deadlocks without any concrete solution arising; all permanent Security Council members have fixed positions, which they are not considering to change, making much of their stands predictable and self-centered. It can fairly be argued that NATO can run into the same problematic, considering that every decision has to have consensus from its 28 associate states, but in its time of existence there has not been such a case. There is a proposal being discussed inside the organization called "Consensus Minus Rule", where the North Atlantic Council – forum consisting of Permanent Representatives from all member countries –, if no consensus is reached, can authorize an operation by a majority voting process (Kulas, 2007). While this measure can jeopardize the one-for all-concept that NATO holds, at least new methodologies are being considered to fortify the institution's stand.

The panorama in security issues does not seem too bright for the UN. Although the major powers could decide on reforming the Security Council, this does not guarantee that peace and global defense will be better served (Berdal, 2005). In fact, the opposite can be defended, taking into account that a larger number of countries laying down the security decisions would entangle the process more, making them virtually impossible to implement. This, in contrast, with topics like African development, women's rights, and disease eradication, where the stands are more homogeneous between nations and interests share

general guidelines to take concrete actions. NATO, by comparison, is formed by a more aligned thinking group of nations that share, to a certain extent, the same ideology towards security and the defense mechanisms needed to protect its territory. In the past France was one of the most detached countries of the Treaty, but the fact that it is the only member to be excluded from its Defense Planning Committee, has made the organization more agile in its decision making processes (Kulas, 2007). Without a doubt, individual interests clash and some countries such as the United States are always searching ways to benefit its position. However, in NATO it happens to a lesser extent than in UN and that is what has kept the former organization alive; conversely for the latter, this is virtually impossible where opposing poles like USA-China or USA-Russia are at the forefront of the organization.

UN officials are constantly trying to redeem themselves, passing resolutions and creating new commissions that could help them improve their image in the eye of the public. As it is evident this approach is completely wrong and for some time discussions revolved around a Peacebuilding Commission despite the previous allegations condemning UN staff. Also, as Berdal (2005) explained, "[w]hile this new recommendation involved the creation of a new institution, the UN has always been poor at eliminating institutions, organs and offices that have either outgrown their usefulness or are plainly underperforming". This mechanism is not new and because of it the UN has turned into a bureaucratic creature difficult to move and hard to pass around it. Added to this, new proposals involve mostly "signing" or "ratifying" existent principles, which do not create new knowledge or bring an innovative edge to the table.

Security and defense are not issues that can be tackled in a trial and error base. The UN has had too many faults in these areas for it to regain its credibility in a short period of time. Dissolving it once and for all would be a mistake but in the matters at hand, it should assist NATO with proper information and know how so that the latter can take charge as the guiding entity. Still, UN would have a great deal of international presence in other crucial topics, avoiding this way any interference between organizations and really embrace the concept of a global community.

H2: Given the characteristics of new challenges of international security threats, if overt ideological differences remain among pivotal member countries in an organization, there will be less effective decision making and implementation actions originating from it.

3.3 NATO Taking Over Global Security Problems

Global security is a topic that needs to be dealt with day by day through ever changing strategies and complete attention to the new threats arising in the world. Safety and defense conditions will never be the same after the numerous Al Qaeda plots and, as it is evident, nowadays it is not only nations that engage in belligerent acts, but also these non state actors that do not follow international law and are mainly guided by radical ideology too deep-rooted to negotiate with. Many countries are trying to dismantle terrorist cells inside its territories but a connected effort is not yet complete to control the situation. In the context of today, NATO is the best option to oversee these operations and serve as an active link through which countries, members and non members can direct their input. This is not to say that each nation individually will rely on NATO for all its security matters, but the Treaty should guide the rest of the actors, including UN, so that a better organized endeavor could take place.

While UN was created for security and defense purposes, in its 65 years of existing it has evolved to an enormous apparatus far beyond what its founders ever imagined. This has served well to the world, considering that countries have an organization looking after its interests, helping them develop in the areas they most need. However, that same expansion that made the association relevant in world affairs has crippled it in some sectors such as security, where it no longer fits the juncture of the 21st century. The topics NATO deals with need not to be politicized and national biases should not interfere with the missions it engages in.

The role of the UN and the legitimacy of its collective security mechanism have been much criticized, among other things, by their failure to act in cases of genocide or other humanitarian disasters such as Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda (Gray, 2008). NATO, on the other hand, has been put on trial numerous times coming out successful from each of the operations and gaining the credibility from the populace which have their wellbeing at stake. The Treaty is constantly trying new methods of action and engaging in exercises pertinent to the terrorist dangers that jeopardize the world defense and all of its players. In 2002, the organization practiced its first ever joint crisis response exercise with Russia, simulating an international terrorist attack on a chemical plant (Streit Council, 2010). Although NATO and Russia have a historical turbulent relationship, this initiative mirrors the willingness of both parties to evolve in its security strategies and avoid taking a passive approach towards defense matters. This closeness between both actors reiterates the role NATO can play in any given conflict between Russia and any other nation, including China. The cooperation is already there and the trust is being built slowly on the side line. What needs to be emphasized

is that global defense has to be approached with a blind eye towards political differences, and viewed through a common lens of cooperation and support.

Another exercise worth mentioning is the Joint Assistance Exercise held in Ukraine in 2005. It focused on response to a terrorist attack using chemical agents and the proper procedures the army and the rest of the citizens have to take in the period after (Streit Council, 2010). Aside from the successful results of the drill, it also stands out the fact that it was held in L'viv, a city outside NATO's jurisdiction. This shows the welcoming attitude other nations have towards the organization and the confidence it reflects on non member states. On January 2011, the Deputy Secretary General from NATO, Ambassador Claudio Bisogniero, met with Parliamentarians from Korea to exchange strategies and possible ways to bring closer NATO-Korean relationships and other common matters at hand (NATO, 2011). The Treaty's official gave the following announcement:

Our relationship will be defined by mutual interest and will be further developed gradually. Today we can say that over recent years, we have taken NATO-Korea relationship to a new level. We are holding high level talks on an annual basis and Korean officers participate on a regular basis in NATO courses (NATO, 2011).

This crucial statement restates NATO's intentions and capabilities to extend its reach to other continents and deal with sensitive issues, such as the South Korean-North Korean impasse. It may be that at first this organization will only give technical support, as opposed to military assistance, but it is a door for it to start getting acquainted with the new surroundings.

On the same note, NATO has been assertive to react to the realization that global terrorism, rather than a possible menace, is a present threat. As Ballesteros (2005) states, "its strategy is to be more dynamic in an attempt to emphasize prevention rather than consequence management"; something that cannot be said about UN, where members wait for an actual crisis to happen before taking any action. Rwanda and Kosovo are just two examples of this pattern that has cost many lives and damaged in great way the organization's integrity. The Treaty, considering the general situation, has been developing a plan integrating political, military, and social initiatives (Ballesteros, 2005) for it to be the leader in the global fight against terror and function as the real military alliance it was built for.

The significance of the previous accomplishments goes far beyond any concrete defense strategy the UN has crafted in the last decade. The Treaty's intentions may be transformed into a reality due to the flexibility it has to test this kind of exercises and the ability to act in a prompt way. It is true that NATO's NRF is not as agile when it comes to the deployment of troops outside its territory for combat purposes; nevertheless, this branch is fully operational in humanitarian assistance, as it was evident during the Pakistani earthquake in 2005 (Kulas, 2007). NRF requires that the force be ready within five days, and it should be equipped to carry on a specific mission for at least thirty days (Mihalka, 2005), so if this mandate is fulfilled in the upcoming operations, NATO will become even more capable of taking action against any belligerent or humanitarian crisis. The process is bound to be slow, considering the matters that are being treated, but the crucial thing is that results are being presented and the organization is portraying a positive image to the international community.

As it may be seen in the preceding examples, NATO has the capability to cope with global problems, even though it is conceived as a regional organization. Its reputation has been nearly intact since its foundation, so it has all the incentives to keep it that way, especially when all eyes are on its next move in Afghanistan. Evolution is one of the key elements that have kept NATO significant in a global context; otherwise it would have been replaced immediately after the fall of the Berlin Wall. By contrast, it is a process nearly impossible to achieve for an entity with 192 members and a large spectrum of responsibilities, such as the UN. The Treaty will thrive, but only as long as it continues to live by its Charter and remain loyal to its principles.

H3: An international organization built exclusively for a sole purpose, permits it to focus directly on the issues responsible for and react in a more proactive way towards the matters at hand.

4. Research Method

4.1 Previous UN and NATO Security Operations

Security and defense operations are activities that UN and NATO are acquainted with and, in the case of the latter its entire Charter is based on such missions. Each of the assignments has completely different characteristics as the previous ones and it is impossible to create a one size fits all framework to apply in every situation, in every context of the world. This uniqueness is what makes the cases more difficult; environmental settings change, social and cultural atmospheres vary, and, most importantly, the threats come from different agents. While in Kosovo and Darfur, the organizations were dealing with ethnic cleansing, in Afghanistan, terrorism is the core danger menacing civil society and the world as a whole.

Both, NATO and UN, have their own methods of assessing the viability of each operation and the way it should be conducted inside the territories. However, as stated above, the significant difference between these institutions is that the Treaty does not operate under a veto power or permanent/non-permanent status. This structure change gives NATO an advantage over UN so much as it permits the former to make decisions collectively without individual preferences getting in the way. According to the UN's data base, Soviet Union/Russia is the country that has used its veto authority the most, with 124 rejections, followed by the United States, with 82 (Global Policy Forum, 2010). China, on the other hand, has enforced it only six times since the organization was founded but, the serious consequences derived from them, has led the rest of the members to question the principles of the organization (Global Policy Forum, 2010). In 1999, this Asian country blocked a resolution that extended the authorization of the Preventive Deployment Force in the Former

Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (UNPREDEP) to keep its operations in Macedonian soil. (Novosseloff, 2008). The negative reaction came after the former recognized Taiwan as a sovereign nation and began formal diplomatic relations with them (Novosseloff, 2008). Before all the commotion, UN members had publicly stated the success of the mission and their desire to extend the action period. Nevertheless, China has been reluctant to recognize Taiwan and has shown a strict tendency to veto any decisions that concerns the topic.

Like this example, there are many unsolved problems, such as Kashmir and Gaza, which will never be solved as long as the veto power remains active. National interests are the rules to follow and personal retaliations will keep preventing real actions to originate from the UN. Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq, are countries where instability has reigned inside its borders due to deep ethnic, religious, and radical views almost impossible to confront. NATO and UN have had direct contact in these operations, creating a proper setting to develop a comparative analysis on each of the missions. In the next section, for each state, a contrasting evaluation will be made in order to examine both approaches and its consequent results in the field, testing in this way the hypothesis stated above.

4.1.1 Kosovo

The case of Kosovo is one in which both organizations have participated in an active way, except that for the United Nation's block it has been a disappointment that led to political instability and unnecessary quandaries inside the territory. The mission was unable to secure and protect the minorities and failed to maintain peace between Albanians and Kosovo Serbs.

According to Tansey and Zaum (2009, p. 13), after Kosovo's unilateral declaration

of independence on February 2008, "the failure to settle the status question through diplomacy has thrown the UN into crisis, leaving the Security Council deadlocked and international community in Kosovo without direction and momentum". The previous statement reflects the negative results that arose after the organization prevented the region to be separated into Serbs and Albanians, without accounting for their unwillingness to coexist in a common land. This is not the only time when UN's decisions concerning geographical matters have backfired and drove to unsolvable crisis; Israel-Palestine dilemma and territorial conflicts in the African continent still remain alive due to uninformed decisions made by the high state officials of the organization.

In Kosovo, the five permanent members could not enforce its resolutions and the content was completely ignored by the parties involved. In this specific scenario and in other UN peace operations, the general assumption is that if the rulers are deposed, democracy will fall right into place without contest (Hippel, 2010). This one-dimensional approach overlooks the fact that these regions do not have a democratic base or a functional framework that would sustain such political system. The decisions are taken abruptly without considering the individual context of each of the nations, making the missions an obvious disaster before even starting them.

For NATO, its Kosovo operation has had completely different results. At first it was a challenge for the Treaty, taking into account that part of the Balkan region was outside their jurisdiction. However, the organization knew that they had to take action before the instability escalated towards other areas, creating a spillover effect of violence and social volatility. NATO's assertive response illustrates the benefits of having a relatively

homogeneous Council where decisions can be made promptly without falling into deaf ears or getting lost in extensive bureaucracy and diverging views.

This mission was the first occasion where a defense coalition engaged in a military operation outside its own limits; "[f]or the first time, an alliance of sovereign nations fought not to conquer or preserve territory but to protect the values on which the alliance was founded, and despite many challenges, NATO prevailed" (Solana, 1999). With this action, the member's intentions of expanding outside its own borders began to materialize and it set the bases for future operations that were intended to run externally from NATO's sphere, keeping always present the honor and sovereignty of the host state.

Kosovo was a delicate topic in the international community due to a biased opinion on whether NATO breached the UN Charter by acting unilaterally without its consent. Article 103 of the document states that "in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail" (UN, 2010). This Article applies for every other organization, including NATO, and gives a higher priority to its norms *vis-à-vis* the rest of institutions. Under this statute, the Treaty should have first coordinated with UN and wait until Security Council approved their mission, and only then initiate a troop mobilization. Nevertheless, all the time wasted on bureaucratic and technical procedures would have meant a toll of deaths much larger than the real number, and this so that UN can maintain a security monopoly in the global hemisphere.

In 1998, when the Kosovo War was an imminent danger, the UN acted directly and

called for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Kosovar Albanians to initiate a "political solution" (Simma, 1999). The Council also imposed a general arms embargo for both parties and assured that if the situation was not controlled, the UN was going to take severe measures (Simma, 1999). In the days that followed, the situation deteriorated rapidly but the UN still wanted to avoid any military confrontation, despite the escalating aggressions and human right violations. This example is punctual on explaining the inability of UN to act rapidly on security matters. NATO was obliged to step in and ignore the Security Council's mandate due to an overwhelming humanitarian need; the Treaty responded as an international security agent, and by undermining the UN's consent, made a legitimate point on its actual capabilities of solving the world's defense matters.

In the years following the war, different versions have surfaced on what really happened in the Kosovo operations and the reasons behind NATO/US's severe actions in the territory. Some authors such as Michael Chossudovsky, assert that much of the bombing campaigns and destabilization missions in Yugoslavia had an economic agenda behind it for the allies (1999). In the same line of thought, critics also argue that at the time, in order for NATO to survive, it needed members from the old soviet bloc. Achieving this, the newcomers had to make large military agreements with American arms contractors in order to supply their relatively weak armies (Johnstone, 2000). This meant a billionaire boost to companies based in the United States, and, as a consequence, to the American economy. To what extent are these arguments viable is hard to tell, considering that detractors will always exist in both sides and each of them will find as much as convincing cases as their counterpart.

4.1.2 Afghanistan

Since 2001, Afghanistan has been the target for terrorist hunting, enclosing the country in an atmosphere of violence and social hostility. As a consequence, the state has been devastated, not only at its infrastructure level, but also in terms of resources and humanitarian matters. Due to this reality, in 2001, the UN's Security Council created the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which was first led by the United States but two years after, upon the Afghan President's request, NATO was given the leadership (Roberts, 2009). Almost in the same time period, in 2002, the UN established United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), with the objectives of reconstructing and providing aid assistance to the nation (UNAMA, 2010). This mutual effort illustrates the way in which both blocks can cooperate towards common goals, being inclusive in their tasks and not representing a competition to each other. Nevertheless, for cohesiveness purposes, it is important to draw a line between NATO's defense and security assignments and the UN's relief ones.

During the Afghan stabilization process, NATO has performed a more active military role than the UN is capable of. According to Morelli and Belkin (2009), ISAF initiative calls upon the Treaty to "disarm militias, reform the justice system, train a national police force and army, provide security for elections, and combat the narcotic industry". Bearing in mind that NATO's sole purpose is to engage in military taskforces, its 28 members should be the

ones who guide the security missions across the globe, as they are currently doing in South – Central Asia. For their part, UN programs should complement the operations with humanitarian relief and other recovery actions, without duplicating duties in the field.

The UN did some notable achievements to its credit in Afghanistan, such as the negotiation for the withdrawal of Soviet forces in the country and future development plans in Kabul and peripheral areas. Nevertheless, the UN's results have been incomplete in relations of those of the United States and its partners in NATO. The Treaty's involvement may come out in history as a test of its military competence and political determination, but what remains true today is that its operations in Afghanistan are being accepted with little public debate (Roberts, 2009). This silent recognition echoes the confidence that the international community has on the organization and their determination on solving security crisis outside its geographical boundaries. Although the missions are being held more than 3,000 miles away from its headquarters, NATO is performing well in understanding the cultural context and the possible solutions to reach a peaceful ending.

In 2009, NATO concluded that the first priority of its new strategy in this Islamic country would be to increase the size of its security forces deployed in the territory. They are following strict guidelines, not only to provide security to civilians and international staff, but also to work jointly with locals so that in the future they have the capability to stand alone in their region (O'Hanlon, 2009). A major difference can be highlighted between this operational approach and the one UN is used to. As stated before, the latter has acted in a simplistic way

by addressing conflicts in a causal manner: get rid of "evil" and democracy will prevail. As history has shown, the results have not been positive in any way and that is why NATO is focusing on the training of Afghan soldiers and policemen so that rule of law can be enforced and little by little gain the population's trust, making the intelligence units more accurate.

The situation in 2010 is not the same as nine years ago, when the conflict in Afghanistan started. Al – Qaeda still stands strong as a non territorial transnational network and continues to aid rebel groups in order to fight NATO and the rest of its allied countries. Many of the Treaty's military and political figures have voiced that winning against the Taliban seems far-fetched nowadays, so the forces should "focus more on generating the necessary conditions for security than for democracy" (Rubin, 2009, p. 87). Given the shift of conditions in this Central Asian country, UN should orient its efforts on topics where the institution has its strengths like aid assistance, human rights, and social progress. As in the case of Kosovo, the defense assurance should be left to NATO so that at least they can assure that the Taliban will not return to power. As it can be observed in *Figure 1*, NATO casualties are on the rise, being 2009 the worse year since the conflict started. Well prepared actions need to be taken so that 2010 – 2011 numbers will not surpass the previous years.

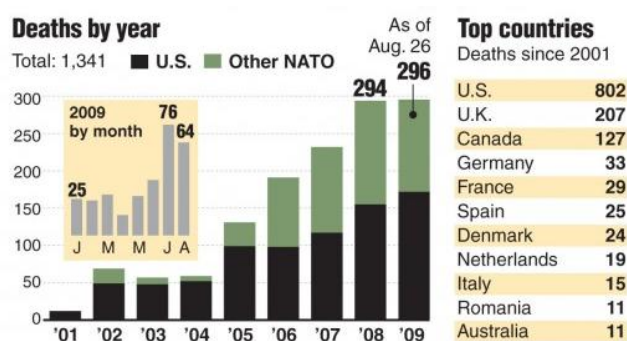


Figure 1: NATO Casualties in Afghanistan

Source: I Casualties (2010)

4.1.3 Iraq

The Iraqi belligerent situation has a different meaning for UN and NATO. For one, the Security Council rejected the intentions of the United States and Great Britain to engage in a full range invasion to the country, under allegations of possession of a nuclear arsenal. Regardless of UN's opposition, the United States went on with its plans of incursion, underestimating the real situation in Iraq and falling into a downward spiral of violence (Global Policy Forum, 2009). Since the beginning of the war, the United States has been seeking approval from the UN only to legitimize its actions inside the territory. Missions from the organization have been in and out of the nation, involving its staff in deadly attacks from the local insurgency.

UN criticized NATO's actions when it "illegally" entered Kosovo territory without the approval of the former's Security Council. Despite the fact that the mission was mounted for all the right reasons, UN could not see past its own rigid formalities and did not accept the reasons NATO gave for its decisions. However, less than five years later, United States took action in Iraq without the UN's consent, showing a lack of cohesiveness inside its structure and an imbalance of decision power between members.

NATO, for its part, has had a lawful role on Iraqi soil, but its responsibility lays on

more passive grounds *vis-à-vis* its involvement in Kosovo and Afghanistan. As of now, the Treaty is "engaged in helping Iraq create effective armed forces and, ultimately, provide for its own security" (NATO, 2010). There is a sharp contrast between the engagements of both institutions and the acceptability the international community has given in response. UN has been discredited many times before, but NATO has a reputation to secure and that can be mirrored on the quality of its missions and the assertiveness of its duties.

The previous examples are not intended to weaken UN's position or undermine the accomplishment they already have in diverse regions. Instead, they are a wakeup call for those who still defend the institution as the peace bearer of the globe and the messianic entity capable of achieving the impossible. Also, it is not to say that NATO will be the best option for generations to come, but the fact remains that for now it is the best tool countries have to counterbalance substantial threats inside their territory. This organization has also ran into some difficulties in its mission, like the killings of civilians in Pakistani soil in September 2010 (Hussain, 2010); however, its credibility still remains and it is growing stronger as the results of its operations continue to be gratifying and living up to the expectations of the members and other nations of the globe.

Much of the success that NATO has shown in its operations, including the aforementioned ones, is because of budgetary reasons and the fact that in any given case, every member country makes its military resources available for the organization to use.

COUNTRY	DEFENSE BUDGET 2010			DEFENSE BUDGET 2011		SOURCES/IMPLICATIONS OF SAVINGS
	National Currency	USD	% GDP	National Currency	USD	
ALBANIA	23.6B ALL	\$254M	1.96 %	TBD	TBD	
BELGIUM	2.75B €	\$3.76B	0.79 %	2.75B €	\$3.76B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Until there is a new government, the defense budget for 2011 remains at the same level as in 2010 • Cuts are expected in 2011
BULGARIA	1.0 B L	\$0.69B	1.46%	1.02B L	\$0.72B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce in military manpower from 5000 to 9000 troops • Cancel and reduce orders for military helicopters and transport planes
CANADA	20.6B CS	\$20.11B	1.5%	18.9B CS	\$18.52B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military's procurement plans not to be affected • Defense budget still expected to grow but at a slower pace • Defense spending would increase by 1.5%
CROATIA	4.74B HRK	\$0.87B	1.39%	4.96B HRK	\$0.90B	
CZECH REPUBLIC	49.3B CZK	\$2.8B	1.6 %	45.30B CZK	\$2.5B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction of helicopters and one Canadair Challenger 601 VIP aircraft • Reduced purchases of spare parts and services, as well as ammunition and defense equipment • Reduce defense budget to 1.03% of GDP by 2013
DENMARK	23.1B DKK	\$4.25B	1.4 %	23.1B DKK	\$4.25B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce equipment, personnel and operations to generate \$500M in new savings by 2014
ESTONIA	4.06B EEK	\$0.35B	1.78 %	4.38B EEK	\$0.38B	
FRANCE	39.23B €	\$53.36B	2.0 %	38.44 B €	\$52.23B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cut 54,000 military personnel • Delay implementation of major systems including C2 systems, land armament modernization and aircraft upgrades and acquisitions
GERMANY	31.1B €	\$42.7B	1.27 %	31.5 B €	\$43.3B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce soldiers from current total of 252,000 to around 165,000 • Increase of sustainable deployable troops from 7,000 to 14,000 • Cut defense budget by 8.3B – 9.3B € (\$10.6B) by 2015-2016
GREECE	6.24B €	\$8.72B	3.1 %	6B €	\$8.16B	

According to Chapter IX of the NATO Handbook, "the vast majority of military forces and assets belonging to NATO member countries remain under national command and control until assigned to NATO for the purposes of undertaking specific military tasks" (2011). As it can be seen in *Figure 2*, the Treaty's defense budget for 2011 has been cut slightly but it still significant compared to the funds assigned by member countries to UN.

Figure 2: NATO's Defense Budgets 2011

HUNGARY	308B HUF	\$1.5B	1.15 %	275.2B HUF	\$1.36B	
ITALY	15.5B €	\$21.08B	1.4 %	15.53B €	\$21.13B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce the size of military from 190,000 to 180,000 • Cancel, reduce or postpone air, land and sea procurement programs • Reduce spending by 29B € (\$36.8B) from 2011-2013
LATVIA	0.13B LVL	\$0.25B	1.2 %	TBD	TBD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government to submit budget request for 2011 to parliament on December 7, 2010 • With reforms, including HQ downsizing and budget cuts, having been implemented over the last two years, further cuts in personnel, structure and budget are not anticipated. • 2011 defense budget likely to be 1.14% of GDP
LITHUANIA	0.85B LTL	\$0.34B	0.89 %	0.869B LTL	\$0.344B	
LUXEMBOURG	0.42B €	\$0.58B	0.5 %	0.2B€	\$0.27B	
NETHERLANDS	8.55B €	\$11.69B	1.5 %	8.3B €	\$11.4B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 200M € cuts will mainly come from the investment budget (163M €) • Reduction of F-35 Joint Strike Fighters from the planned 85 to 50 • Defense spending intended to decrease to 8.1B € (\$11B) in 2015
NORWAY	34.9B NOK	\$5.86B	1.6 %	39.2B NOK	\$6.6B	
POLAND	25.7 B PLN	\$8.95B	1.95 %	27.5B PLN	\$8.8B	
PORTUGAL	2.4B €	\$3.27B	1.5 %	2.14 B €	\$2.92B	
ROMANIA	6.78B RON	\$2.18B	1.33 %	4.75B RON	\$1.53B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Delays in command and control, operations and logistic support upgrades
SLOVAKIA	0.85B €	\$1.16B	1.3 %	0.76B €	\$1.04B	
SLOVENIA	0.507B €	\$0.69B	1.42 %	0.48B €	\$0.66B	
SPAIN	7.69B€	\$10.48B	1.2 %	7.15B €	\$9.7B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postponement of the Armoured Fighting Vehicle
TURKEY	17.87B TL	\$11.87B	1.63 %	18.788B TL	\$12.07B	
UNITED KINGDOM	£35.205B	\$57B	2.7 %	£33.8B	\$54.6B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decommission ships, including early retirement of flagship aircraft carrier, Ark Royal, mothball Harrier aircraft, drop planned Nimrod MRA4 Reconnaissance Aircraft • Delay modernization of Trident Subs • Withdraw its 20,000 troops in Germany by 2020 • Cut budgets by 8% over next four years cumulatively
USA	\$636.3B		4.7 %	\$708B		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administration seeks 2.2% growth over 2010 budget and 1% of growth thereafter • Secretary of Defense Gates seeks to reduce 2-3% in savings through cuts in bureaucracy to reinvest in military equipment

Source: Atlantic Council, 2011 (Simona Kordosova)

The defense budget of each nation should not be understood directly as NATO's resources as well, but taking into account that countries provide them from their own capabilities, it gives an idea how equipped and well funded is the institution. By comparison, UN has constant budgetary problems as its members cut their shares or maintain extremely large amounts of debts towards the organization; it spends around \$30 billion each year, which is a small amount compared to most administration's budgets and is "less than three percent of the world's military spending" (Global Policy Forum, 2010). It is understood that the financial capabilities of each of the forums does not dictate the way the operations will develop or suppose that the better funded will succeed every time. Nevertheless, the difference between

both is abysmal and it would be naïve to overlook this distinction when comparing their potential.

Regarding peacekeeping operations, UN has assigned \$7.25 billion for the fiscal year starting July 1, 2010 and ending June, 2011 (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2010). However, sometimes the numbers can be deceiving, and, according to Brett Shaefer from the Heritage Foundation (2010):

Since 2004, the UN has made a practice of retaining surplus from UN peacekeeping operations that have been closed by the UN Security Council and of borrowing from this pool of money to finance other peacekeeping operations, international tribunals, and activities funded through the regular budget. With the complicity of the U.S, Mission to the UN, the General Assembly has repeatedly refused to confront this flouting of UN financial rules and regulations.

This means that the UN is assigning money from the peacekeeping budget to other operations that are not pertinent to the topic, instead of giving it back to the funding member countries, as the internal regulations state. This is only one of many problems derived from decreasing resources along the years and it can only be managed through proper administrative frameworks and the handling of missions that fit the organization's capabilities and expertise.

Throughout the missions NATO has been involved with a large amount of actors, including countries, non-state agents and other violent groups, which has given the high ranks and all the troops in general a valuable expertise on how to handle extreme situations under extreme conditions. During the Bosnia conflict, after 1995, there were approximately

500,000 servicemen from 43 countries, including 90,000 Americans, serving in the area and for a total of nine years NATO helped sustain a secured environment, not losing a single soldier to belligerent activities (Tansey & Zaum, 2009). Years after, in the Afghanistan mission, the Treaty had to command more than 43,000 thousand troops, from more than 40 nations (Rubin, 2009), reflecting a great deal of coordination during the campaign and a hands on experience too difficult to find in other organizations. NATO, by far, has been involved in a greater amount of violent conflicts than UN – only two time in UN history, during the Korean War and Gulf War, has the organization sent military troops under its flag (Novosseloff, 2008) - , increasing in this way its skills and knowledge in the field and making it a better source of defense and security around the world.

Although the UN has 192 nations supporting its operations providing insight for multilateral strategies, it does not have a force ready to deploy in case of emergency. The final go ahead process to request support from members can be lengthy and sometimes run into internal disagreements, augmenting the possibility of failure like in the case of Darfur (Rice, 2008). NATO does not have this problem because of its ability to organize military operations at a faster pace under NRF, and the experience the institution has for such kind endeavors.

5. Findings

The previous information has provided a frame of knowledge enclosing both, UN and NATO, and their strengths and weaknesses inside global affairs. Their relatively extended lives allow a comparative analysis to take place; in addition to this, the two organizations have coincided in same operations, performing similar tasks to evaluate. As it has been stated, the results were not equally positive for the institutions in question and the overall development of the missions varied significantly in the field. Neither UN nor NATO should be eliminated from world matters, but in order for these forums to reach their full potential, a refocus in their views needs to take place.

One of the most evident findings that can be catalogued as counterproductive inside the UN structure is the veto power that the Security Council holds. It creates a man made barrier between ideas and actions and gives explicit priorities to minorities' agendas, instead of treating all interest as equal. By the same token, NATO, although it does not enforce the veto, it also sometimes tends to incline its policies towards what the United States or Great Britain see as an advantage for their own purposes. Nevertheless, in the latter case it does not happen on a regular basis and the rest of member countries possess greater leverage mechanisms – one country one vote in all decisions – to counterbalance self-intended actions.

The non-permanent members are demanding reforms in the UN's structures, ones that adapt to the reality of the moment and do not undermine the capacities and influence of the other states. The demands seem legitimate and pretty well justified; nonetheless, the

reality is different. The stands are not organized and are unable to present a formal statement to the Security Council. The African countries are having a hard time deciding who should they postulate for the position and the hidden interests are such that the panorama seems too blurred now to predict any satisfactory results (Weiss, 2009). From their side, the permanent members are not openly opposed to the change, but are doing everything possible not to discuss it. France, Russia, and the United Kingdom have endorsed India's offer for membership, but none of them appear to move a concrete plan forward (Schaffer, 2009). This continuous quandary not only affects the inner procedures of the organization, but also the ongoing security operations in different parts of the world. The resources wasted on meetings and resolution debates, may be reoriented to the actual peace and defense missions in the field.

According to UN's official documents, as the 20th century was ending its first half, "51 countries committed to maintain international peace (...), developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights" (UN, 2010). It is evident that its architects were trying to solve the world's crisis from a central headquarter, not taking into account the capital and human power that this project would entail. Today, as a consequence, the 192 members face serious problems to achieve what UN founders so eagerly set out to reach. The intentions are ambitious and noble, but in order to become tangible they have to evolve and adapt to reality, working with other entities to harmonize its efforts. In some cases such as Kosovo, it seems like the UN wants to take control of the situation without accepting their limited understanding or capabilities to resolve

the crisis.

In the immediate post War World II context, the responsibilities placed over the UN fit the unstable situation the world was going through. While the war was over, the repercussions from it were still to be seen; the countries desperately needed a supranational body that could prevent any other military confrontation and bring order to a Europe sunken in political and social chaos. Nevertheless, as the United Kingdom's former Prime Minister Gordon Brown stated:

[T]o succeed now and in the future, the post-war rules of the game, the post-war international institutions, fit for the Cold War and for a world of just 50 states, must be radically reformed to fit our world of globalization where there are 200 states, an emerging single market place, unprecedented individual autonomy and the increasing power of informal networks across the world (cited in Weiss, 2009, p. 143).

For more than half a century, this worldwide block has been holding on to the same policies that made it strong years ago, but now it is only making it obsolete. The spheres of power have changed dramatically and the world order has shifted from a bipolar one during the Cold War, to a unipolar world after it ended, changing to a multipolar scenario since the beginning of the 21st century. During each of these steppingstones the global *status quo* changed to become a hybrid of what predominated in years before and what was starting to develop. Ideally, with these overwhelming changes, a new UN should have arisen, meeting the new necessities of the countries and making the pertinent restructure that this entails. However, UN did not, and decided to maintain outdated pillars that nowadays are disturbing its competence, but are too difficult to modify because of what the institution has become.

Regarding security and defense issues, UN has shown a weaker side than the one

reflected during the Korean War and the Gulf War. Their actions do not respond to the global circumstances and there is a misconnection between the objectives of the organization and the ones from each individual country. Almost every Secretary-General has firmly stated that the UN does not possess or plan to develop a center of intelligence in its units (Chesterman, 2006). The policy seems reasonable if it could feed otherwise with information from the most powerful nations, like the United States or Great Britain; nevertheless, these states will always reject petitions to share their most confidential data with the rest, even though it may help to achieve the ultimate goals. For the superpowers the sharing of crucial information means putting in jeopardy whatever intentions and resources they have at stake, and, as it has been clear, these matters more than attaining the security needs of the world.

By contrast, NATO continues to grow strong and strategically expand in order to gain strength, but at the same time maintain the versatility that has been part of its composition since its foundation. It has shown an important capacity to adapt to new challenges, and its tactics have been precise in the enlargement of the organization and in the search of new operations far beyond the geographical boundaries of its members. Richard Lugar (2002, p. 11), the senior United States Senator from Louisiana, stated that after the Cold War dangers where over, the new tasks where to reorganize the West to deal with the East: "NATO had to go out of area or out of business", he said. The decision from all members was crucial for the military block to maintain strong and influential; in a world in which violent attacks are made indistinctively among nations, "old distinctions between 'in' and 'out' of area have become irrelevant" (Lugar, 2002, p.11). In these topics timing meant everything, and NATO members

understood it. Each resolution that did not pass or was delayed was an advantage for the enemy to regroup and organize their operations. In this specific point, the Treaty has increased the number of members in a more linear way than the UN has done. Of course the latter was build to include every possible nation, but it does not hide the fact that there are states that are going to be polarized no matter what the circumstances are.

Since its conception, NATO founders knew that the institution had to act and maneuver independently from the UN. Even though there were members who participated in both associations, the blocks served different purposes and there was no practical need to attach the two together. NATO does not consider Chapter VIII of the UN Charter; as a Chapter VII organization, it would have been limited to take military action only after Security Council authorization (Harsch & Varwick, 2009). From the get go, the whole NATO mechanism would have been constrained and at mercy of a separate entity and its members, especially China and Russia, who hold veto power in the Security Council but are not members of the Treaty.

NATO's operations range from purely military assistance, to the promotion of democratic values. Its peacekeeping operations have made significant accomplishments in unstable regions, preventing conflicts to escalate to higher levels of crisis, as in the cases of former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan (Schmidt, 2006). Although this list is not exhaustive, one can mention three monumental transformations the Treaty has made in world affairs:

First, the end of the centuries-long “civil war” within the west for transoceanic and European supremacy; second, the United States’ post-World War II commitment of the defense of Europe against Soviet domination: and third, the peaceful termination of the Cold War, which ended the geopolitical division of Europe and created the preconditions

for a larger democratic European Union (Brzezinski, 2009).

This shows the tremendous influence the military block has had in the development of history of the latter part of the 20th century and beginnings of the 21st. Restructuring the course of an organization's objectives consumes resources and may be taken as a burden for the countries and its delegates; nevertheless, it is a vital step to take as a long term strategy so that the forum does not sit on archaic grounds and slowly cave in as UN has been doing. Both, the implementation and the decision making process of NATO will be far more efficient as long as the organization continues to follow a uniform criterion for its members and does not try to tackle a large number of heterogeneous matters at one time. As it has been seen, the resources are there for the organization to use so that gives it a great advantage over other institutions that battle over funds and constantly reach an impasse in its goals due to monetary issues.

6. Suggestions

Making suggestions to solve a problem too enrooted in an organization is difficult because while the immediate concerns may be resolved, others may due to the change. However, this is no reason why something should remain unchanged, making the same mistakes and stumbling in the same obstacles as it has been doing all along. The UN has the potential to become a great institution that constructs great opportunities all around the world, but it needs commitment from the part of its strongest members and the willingness to loosen the reins for the sake of the whole.

The first suggestion is for the UN to step back and let NATO be in charge of world security and defense strategies so that peace may be part of the everyday life of global citizens. This does not mean that UN should forget about the issues and refocus completely in other matters, but complement the efforts of NATO and assist each other when possible and work hand by hand towards homogeneous objectives. Because of the amount of members UN has, it may have valuable information that the Treaty lacks, so in these opportunities, instead of battling and undermining their counterpart, both institutions should create common values and actually live for what they were built for.

Reputation has a lot to do with the success of an organization and the way it is perceived in the countries it establishes in. NATO has been able to expand its influence, even into non member states, because of the positive view it reflects among the countries and its good name backed by its accomplishments. There is no doubt that in its history of existence it has suffered some setbacks, like the controversial campaign in ex Yugoslavia; however, it managed to regain confidence and external trust promoting the participation of non member

states and locating its missions outside its original territorial sphere.

The UN, for its part, does not possess the same credibility that it did in the time of its creation. Many mistakes have piled up but the institution's reaction to them has not been the adequate one for countries to maintain its assurance in the organization. In some cases, it seems like the high ranking officials do not have a historical memory, and fall in the same traps they did in previous assignments. Peacekeeping missions have suffered from this negligence and, as a consequence, the rest of the states have been seeking help from other entities instead, making the UN vulnerable to a possible irrelevance in this particular matter.

It is recommended that the Treaty continues with its responsibilities it was constructed for, without extending to other functions that lack a connection with its original ones. Doing otherwise, it will be victim of the same enlargement the UN is suffering from, and the consequences might be the same as this massive bureaucratic entity. Also, the Treaty needs to move forward and avoid stagnation at one single point; if today is terrorism and WMDs, tomorrow is uncertain, but the crucial thing is to be aware that security is an ever changing matter, and because of this, NATO has to behave the same. Finally, it has to be aware of the possible failures of some missions or institutions inside the organization and the ones that have already fulfilled its duties, so that they can be removed and abolished in order to continue with the dynamism the institution has always been characterized for.

As it has been stated throughout the analysis, the veto power that the Security Council holds needs to be modified so that crucial resolutions, such as the ones involving Gaza and

Taiwan, are examined from a different perspective and viewed from a more neutral standpoint. Abolishing once and for all the veto is unrealistic and to a certain point counterproductive; it is impossible to reach a consensus from 192 countries when the topics are controversial and urgent in matter. However, a rotating Security Council may solve some of the problems this UN entity is going through, and may regain the credibility it once had in the eyes of the rest. If the seats were to be provisional with countries of Africa, Latin America, or Asia, other problems around the world would be at the top of the priority list and the Council would not orbit around the same concerns that it always has. The benefits would be far greater and the states would sense an actual representation in the UN forum.

In addition to this, NATO should not depend on the final decision of the UN in order to proceed in any given choice of operation. If it continues this way, it will fall in the same dilemma the UN has been emerged in for years, and the same biasness that obstructs the Security Council, will be transmitted to the Treaty's headquarters. Nevertheless, it needs to avoid acting unilaterally in its missions. Although in some circumstances is justified, it has to be a last resort action, otherwise, it will be considered an insubordinate organization acting upon its free will and lose its trustworthiness it has so strongly build.

Also, every country in the world needs to look after itself and not rely completely on the international organizations they are affiliated to. Governments have to do their part on enforcing its rule of law and condemning any unlawful activities taking place inside its borders. Institutions do not have endless resources they can spend in every conflict taking place in the world, but if they strategically supply forces to the most needed areas, and let the rest try to surface on its own, the organizations will be more efficient and the world a more

stable one.

Finally, NATO is the regional organization most involved on security and defense topics around the globe. Its operations have surpassed the geographical boundaries of its members, contemplating international threats far beyond its headquarters. This expansion has not avoided problems; each time the Treaty seeks new missions outside Europe, Russia perceives it a menace to its sovereignty. It is recommended that NATO does not lose track of this existing hostility because, despite of new approaches between these actors, the differences persist and can be triggered by any unwarned action coming from the Treaty. Also, in the several peacekeeping tasks it is embarked in, it should not place "democracy" as an *end*, taking into account the lack of structure it exists in such places for this political system to persist; other options should be considered to reach stability, constructing them according to the context and not based on a "one size fits all" model.

This list of suggestions is not exhaustive, but it's a start in order for NATO and UN to have a more coherent approach on security matters and avoid making the same mistakes they have experienced in the past. The changes will arrive slowly, but that is no reason why it should not be started. As the world evolves it becomes more complicated, so the countries and the organizations they created need to adapt and develop to meet the new necessities that continuously emerge.

7. Conclusion

Security threats are getting more serious and sophisticated as the time goes by; unaligned nations are developing new technologies that pose a direct threat to the world and diverse terror agents are seeking their help to adopt the new research as the means to their warped ends. Unfortunately, the strategies aimed for containing these dangers have not been effective all around, and if the circumstances continue to deteriorate, the situation in the future will be virtually impossible to contain. NATO, in the absence of another viable option, needs to take action and continue its operations outside its geographical jurisdiction. The intimidation is no longer emanating from European countries, and for this organization to remain significant, it has to shift its view towards Asian and African soils.

WMDs are becoming a valuable object for terrorists to possess, so NATO has not only to implement strategies to avoid ownership to happen, but also develop emergency exercises for worst case scenarios in case an attack does take place. The capacity of the Treaty's reach has to broaden in the sense of geographical limits it can surpass; nevertheless, the scope of the matters it looks after should remain the same or develop around security themes. If the sight is deviated from the pivotal issues, its flexibility and dynamics will have to succumb to a more procedural setting, jeopardizing ongoing projects.

From its side, UN has shown serious limits to fulfill the security objectives it was set out to achieve. Its strengths have been shown in other humanitarian fields, where discordance is not as sharp as in defense matters and where countries still feel the confidence to seek its assistance. This organization needs to hand out its leadership to NATO and give up its tacit position as peacekeeper of the world. Global security should not be a competitive scenario

where different entities race for popularity and status among states; blocks should complement each other and work in a cohesive way to reach the common goal of world peace. Lives cannot continue to be taken as a consequence of technical differences between organizations, so a harmonious approach has to be put into practice so that forces are joined and results are achieved.

This research measures qualitative and quantitative information in order to reach an objective conclusion regarding the roles NATO should play in a global context. Operations where both the Alliance and UN participated were analyzed directly according to how each organization performed and the effects produced after their presence, as well as budgetary statistics for each of the institutions. The evidence showed a professional approach from the Treaty's side, keeping its objectives clear and its mechanisms efficient. Its credibility was maintained throughout the missions, and in the case of Iraq and Afghanistan, it is still strengthening its position in these war-torn nations. Regrettably, a number of procedural obstructions prevented the UN from executing successful results, undermining its position as a world care-taker and damaging its integrity for future actions. These circumstances have pressured NATO to become the next organization that guides the world towards a peaceful end. Too much blood has been shed and for it not to be in vain a substantial change has to be made in the world construction, being the Treaty the best channel through which this may become a reality.

Limitations

The outcomes of this study should not be construed in an absolute way. The investigation considered three of many missions in which both institutions have taken part, so

the examples are not exhaustive and other findings may appear from the excluded operations. Taking into account the nature of these institutions, many of its internal facts and figures are strictly confidential, and most of its self generated studies are biased towards the organizations producing them. With this in mind, the limitations of this study are clear but overall it gives a wide understanding about how regional organizations may substitute global ones in its actions.

Future Research

The importance of global security and defense makes these fields crucial topics to analyze. Better serving strategies and techniques may be discovered and by conducting an exhaustive investigation, the flaws and limitations of the institution's *modus operandi* can be identified and corrected accordingly. For future research it is recommended to consider a larger frame of numeric figures in order to have a more objective view of UN and NATO. Reputation statistics and war casualties are just two of many criteria that should be dealt with in depth so that it can complement other analytical findings. In addition to this, aside from Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan, other missions should be examined and cross checked between both institutions to confirm the effectiveness of NATO or dismiss previous claims.

Work Cited

- Alvarez. J. (2006). International Organizations: Then and Now. *American Journal of International Law*. Vol.100 No.2. Pp. 324-347
- ASEAN Community in Figures. (2009). ACIF. Retrieved 10/09/2010 from <http://www.aseansec.org/publications/ACIF2009.pdf>
- **Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2010). Aims and Purposes. Retrieved 10/10/2010 from <http://www.aseansec.org/64.htm>**
- Ballesteros. M. (2005). NATO's Role in the Fight against International Terrorism. *Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos*. Retrieved 10/25/2010 from <http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/wcm/connect/e9bf71004f018677baa8fe3170baead1/Ballesteros853.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=e9bf71004f018677baa8fe3170baead1>
- Barnett. M., Finnemore. M. (2004). *Rules of the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Berdal. M. (2005). The UN's Unnecessary Crisis. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*. Vol. 47 No. 3. Pp. 7-32
- Berdal M., Ucko. D. (2009). NATO at 60. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*. Vol. 51 No. 2. Pp. 55-76
- Bolton, J. (2009). ConUNdrum: The Limits of The United Nations: and the Search for Alternatives. *The Heritage Foundation*. Retrieved 10/10/2010 from <http://www.heritage.org/Events/2009/09/ConUNdrum-The-Limits-of-the-United-Nations-and-the-Search-for-Alternatives>
- Brzezinski. Z. (2009). An Agenda for NATO. *Foreign Affairs*. Retrieved 09/29/2010 from <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65240/zbigniew-brzezinski/an-agenda-for-nato>
- Chesterman. S. (2006). Does the UN have Intelligence? *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*. Vol. 148 No. 3. Pp. 149-164
- Chossudovsky. M. (1999). Banking on the Balkans. *Project Censored: Media Democracy in Action*. Retrieved 01/10/2011 from <http://www.projectcensored.org/top-stories/articles/20-imf-and-world-bank->

[contributed-to-economic-tensions-in-the-balkans/](#)

- Conetta. C. (2003). *Security after 9/11: Strategy Choices and Budget Tradeoffs*. Washington D.C.: Center for defense Information.
- Dobbins. J. (2005). The UN's Role in Nation-building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*. Vol. 46 No.4. Pp.81-102
- Eiras. A. (2003). IMF and World Bank Intervention: A Problem Not a Solution. *The Heritage Foundation*. Retrieved 10/09/2010 from <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Reports/2003/09/IMF-and-World-Bank-Intervention-A-Problem-Not-a-Solution#pgfId-1058611>
- Europa. (2010). Treaty of Maastricht on European Union. Retrieved 10/11/2010 from http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/economic_and_monetary_affairs/institutional_and_economic_framework/treaties_maastricht_en.htm
- Feinstein. L., Slaughter. A. (2004). A Duty to Prevent. *Foreign Affairs*. Retrieved 10/13/2010 from <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/59540/lee-feinstein-and-anne-marie-slaughter/a-duty-to-prevent>
- Feulner. E. (1998). The IMF Needs Real Reform, Not More Money. *The Heritage Foundation*. Retrieved 10/10/2010 from <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Reports/1998/05/BG1175-The-IMF-Needs-Real-Reform>
- Freedman. L. (2009). The Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War. *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 88 No.1. Pp. 188
- Freedman. L. (2010). The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and its Dangerous Legacy. *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 89 No. 2 Pp. 592
- Gallis. P. (2003). NATO's Decision - Making Procedure. *Congressional Research Service*. Retrieved 09/24/2010 from <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/RS21510.pdf>
- Garven. W. (2005). *The European Union: A Polity of States and Peoples*. Stanford University Press.
- Gavin. F. (2009). Same as it Ever Was. *International Security*. Vol. 34 No. 3. Pp. 7-37
- Global Policy Forum. (2009). UN Role in Iraq. Retrieved 10/17/2010 from <http://www.globalpolicy.org/iraq/political-issues-in-iraq/un-role-in-iraq.html>
- Global Policy Forum. (2010). Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto in the Security Council. Retrieved 07/19/2010 from <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security->

- council/tables-and-charts-on-the-security-council-0-82/use-of-the-veto.html
- Global Policy Forum. (2010). UN Finance. Retrieved 01/11/2011 from <http://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/un-financial-crisis-9-27.html>
 - Global Security. (2010). Cold War. Retrieved 01/06/2011 from http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/cold_war.htm
 - Gray. C. (2008). A Crisis of Legitimacy for the UN Collective Security System? *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*. Retrieved 10/25/2010 from <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=1532408&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0020589300070019>
 - Harsch. M., Varwick. J. (2009). NATO and the UN. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*. Vol. 51 No. 2. Pp. 5-12
 - Hippel. K. (2000). Democracy by Force: A renewed Commitment to Nation Building. *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 23 No. 1. Pp.95-112
 - Hussain. J. (2010). Pakistan Says 3 Soldiers Killed in NATO Strike. *Reuters*, Retrieved 12/08/2011 from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/09/30/us-pakistan-nato-attack-idUSTRE68T0S620100930>
 - ICasualties. (2010). Coalition Military Casualties by Year. Retrieved 10/16/2010 from <http://icasualties.org/OEF/Index.aspx>
 - International Monetary Fund. (2010). Overview. Retrieved 10/11/2010 from <http://www.imf.org/external/about/overview.htm>
 - Jayakumar. S. (1997). ASEAN at Thirty: accomplishments and Challenges. *Los Angeles World Affairs Council*. Retrieved 10/09/2010 from <http://www.lawac.org/speech/pre%20sept%2004%20speeches/jayakum.html>
 - Johnstone. D. (2000). Mixed Motives behind NATO's War against Yugoslavia. *Review of International Affairs*. Retrieved 01/10/2011 from <http://www.srpska-mreza.com/nwo/motives.html>
 - Kordosova. S. (2010). NATO's defense Budgets 2011. *Atlantic Council*. Retrieved 01/11/2011 from http://www.acus.org/new_atlanticist/natos-defense-budgets-2011
 - Kulas. T. (2007). Does the NATO Decision Process Support the Rapid Response Capabilities of the NATO Response Force? Air Command and Staff College, Air University. Retrieved 01/10/2011 from <https://www.afresearch.org/.../display.aspx?rs>
 - Luck. E. (2006). *UN Security Council: Practice and Promise*. New York: Routledge.

- Lugar. H. (2002). Redefining NATO's Mission: Preventing WMD Terrorism. *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 25 No. 3. Pp. 7-13
- Lynch. C. (2005). U.N. Faces More Accusations of Sexual Misconduct. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved 10/19/2010 from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A30286-2005Mar12.html>
- McMahon. R. (2010). The Cold War in the Third World. *Mershon Center for International Security Studies*. Retrieved 01/05/2011 from <http://mershoncenter.osu.edu/events/09-10%20events/Feb10/coldwarfeb10.htm>
- Mihalka. M. (2005). NATO Response Force: Rapid? Responsive? A Force? *PfP Consortium Quarterly Journal*. Pp. 67-80
- Morelli. V., Belkin. P. (2009). NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance. *Congressional Research Service*. Retrieved 07/23/2010 from <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33627.pdf>
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (2010). NATO the Transatlantic Link. Retrieved 09/22/2010 from <http://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/site.html>
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (2010). NATO's Assistance to Iraq. Retrieved 10/17/2010 from http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_51978.htm
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (2011). NATO Deputy Secretary General Exchanges Views with Korean Parliamentarians. Retrieved 01/27/2011 from http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_70067.htm
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (2011). NATO Handbook. Retrieved 01/11/2011 from <http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/hb0901.htm>
- Novosseloff. A. (2008). *Role of Emerging Countries in the United Nations*. (C. Jaffrelot, Ed). United States: Columbia University Press.
- Office of the Iraq Programme Oil-for-Food. (2010). UN News Centre. Retrieved 10/20/2010 from <http://www.un.org/Depts/oip/>
- O'Hanlon. M. (2009). Towards reconciliation in Afghanistan. *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 32. No. 2. Pp.139-147
- Patel. T. (2010). Total Faces Iraq Oil-for-Food Bribery Investigation. *Bloomberg Businessweek*. Retrieved 10/19/2010 from <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2010-04-06/total-faces-investigation-on-iraq-oil-for-food-bribery-charges.html>
- Rice. X. (2008). Darfur Peacekeepers "Close to Failure". *The Guardian*. Retrieved

- 01/11/2011 from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jul/28/sudan.africanunion>
- Roberts. A. (2009). Doctrine and Reality in Afghanistan. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 51 No. 1. Pp. 29-60
 - Rubin. B. (2009). The Way Forward in Afghanistan: Three Views. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 51 No. 1. Pp. 83-96
 - Russett B., Oneal. J. (2001). *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. New York: Norton & Company
 - Ruiz. D. (2007). NATO's Political and Strategic Vision for Afghanistan. *Annual Baltic Conference on Defense: NATO in Afghanistan-Facing the Shortfalls and Measuring Success*. Retrieved 11/01/2010 from <http://www.bdccl.ee/files/file/ABCD%202nd.pdf>
 - Schaffer. T. (2009). The United States, India, and Global Governance: Can They Work Together? *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 32 No. 3. Pp. 71-87
 - Schmidt. J. (2006). Last Alliance Standing? NATO after 9/11. *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 30 No.1. Pp. 93-106
 - Shaefer. B. (2010). The U.N. Should Stop Ignoring Its Financial Regulations and Pay Its Debts to the Member States. *The Heritage Foundation*. Retrieved 01/26/2011 from <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2010/10/the-un-should-stop-ignoring-its-financial-regulations-and-pay-its-debts-to-the-member-states>
 - Simma. B. (1999). NATO, the UN and the Use of Force: Legal Aspects. *European Journal of International Law*. Vol. 10 No.1. Pp. 1-22
 - Solana. J. (1999). NATO's success in Kosovo. *Foreign Affairs*. Retrieved 07/25/2010 from <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/55610/javier-solana/natos-success-in-kosovo>
 - Streit Council. (2010). NATO's Military Concept, Joint Military Exercises and Civil Emergency Planning Activities. Retrieved 10/24/2010 from <http://streitcouncil.org/index.php?page=nato-s-military-concept-joint-military-exercises-and-civil-emergency-planning-activities>
 - Suzuki. E., Nanwani. S. (2005) Responsibility of International Organizations: The Accountability Mechanisms of Multilateral Development Banks. *Michigan journal of International Law*. Vol. 27 No. 1. Pp. 181-198
 - Tansey. O., Zaum. D. (2009). Muddling through Kosovo. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 51 No. 1. Pp. 13-20.

- Thränert. O. (2010). NATO, Missile Defense and Extended Deterrence. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*. Vol. 51. No. 6. Pp. 63-76
- Thompson. A., Snidal. D. (1999). *International Organizations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- United Nations. (2010). Chapter XVI: Miscellaneous Provisions. Retrieved 10/17/2010 from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter16.shtml>
- United Nations. (2010). United Nations. Retrieved 07/24/2010 from <http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/index.shtml>
- United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan. (2010). Relief, Recovery & Reconstruction. Retrieved 07/23/2010 from <http://unama.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=1754>
- United Nations Peacekeeping. (2010). Financing Peacekeeping. Retrieved 01/26/2011 from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml>
- Weiss. T. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council Reform. *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 26 No.4. Pp. 147-161
- Weiss. T. (2009). Towards a Third Generation of International Institutions: Obama's UN Policy. *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 32 No.3. Pp. 141-162
- Williams. P. (2008). Violent Non-state Actors and National and International Security. *ISN-ETH Zurich*. Retrieved 01/07/2011 from <http://se2.isn.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISFPub/.../VNSAs.pdf>
- World Trade Organization. (2010). Introducing the WTO. Retrieved 01/23/2011 from http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/whatis_e.htm#intro
- Yale Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library. (2008). The Covenant of the League of Nations. Retrieved 09/25/2010 from http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp